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INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19
	L-03	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/047R	

DRAFTED BY: AF/C:CSFULLER

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AF/C:RMPRINGLE

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P:HTHOMAS

AF:GEMOOSE

PM/ISO:KSOLON (SUBS)

IO/UNP:RLOFTIS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1925/1926 IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 5280/5281 IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 0594/

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 4540/

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO 2348/

AMEMBASSY BONN 8401/

AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 6481/

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0559/

AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0851/

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5095/

AMEMBASSY HARARE 4539/

AMEMBASSY LAGOS 7756/

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE 0256/

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2618/

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS 1094/

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 8619/

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 150427

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT THROUGHOUT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, RW, UN, OAU

SUBJECT: RWANDA: TRILATERAL DEMARCHE ON BOUTROS GHALI

REF: STATE

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING THE MAY 11 TRILATERALS, BELGIAN, FRENCH, AND US REPRESENTATIVES AGREED TO REOPEN THE QUESTION OF UN SUPPORT FOR RWANDAN PEACEMAKING WITH BOUTROS GHALI--BOTH THE POSSIBILITY OF A BORDER FORCE AND ASSISTANCE FOR THE ENHANCED OAU NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (NMOG)--ONCE THE UGANDANS AND RWANDANS HAD RECONFIRMED THEIR DESIRE FOR A BORDER FORCE. USUN IS REQUESTED TO COORDINATE WITH THE BELGIANS AND FRENCH IN NEW YORK THE TALKING POINTS TO BE USED IN A RENEWED APPROACH TO THE SYG.

3. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS:

-- AS OBSERVERS TO THE ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS MOST HEAVILY INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA WE URGE YOU TO RECONSIDER YOUR DECISION TO DELAY
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ACTION ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 812 UNTIL A PEACE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED.

-- WE BELIEVE THERE IS URGENT NEED FOR UN ACTION IN SEVERAL AREAS OF THE RWANDA PEACE PROCESS. AS A FIRST STEP, WE REQUEST THAT YOU ASK FOR INTERIM REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 OF SC 812 FROM YOUR GOODWILL MISSION TO RWANDA BY (5 DAYS AFTER DEMARCHE). THOSE PARAGRAPHS INVITED YOU TO EXAMINE HOW THE UN COULD SUPPORT THE OAU'S EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE PEACE PROCESS IN RWANDA AND WHETHER THE UN COULD DEPLOY OBSERVERS ON THE UGANDA/RWANDA BORDER.

BORDER FORCE

-- WE WERE GRATIFIED TO NOTE THAT THE UGANDAN PERMREP REAFFIRMED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SC IN A LETTER OF MAY 12 HIS GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST FOR DEPLOYMENT OF A UN BORDER FORCE ON UGANDAN TERRITORY. THE LETTER ALSO CLARIFIED THAT UGANDA DOES NOT INSIST ON SIMULTANEOUS DEPLOYMENT OF A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE INSIDE RWANDA.

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-- THE REQUEST FOR A UN OBSERVER FORCE WAS MADE BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF UGANDA AND RWANDA IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SECURITY AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN THEM AUGUST 1992. THE RPF HAS REPEATEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SUCH A REQUEST IS AN AFFAIR OF TWO SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND DOES NOT INVOLVE THE RPF AS LONG AS OBSERVERS ARE NOT DEPLOYED IN TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY THE RPF.

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-- WE ASK THAT YOU EXPEDITE THE REPORT OF THE UN TECHNICAL MISSION SENT TO UGANDA TO EXAMINE THE REQUEST OF RWANDA AND UGANDA FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF OBSERVERS AT THE BORDER.

-- RECENT RPF CONCERNS ABOUT THE SIZE AND SOPHISTICATION OF SUCH A UN BORDER FORCE INDICATE THAT THE RPF BELIEVES THE FORCE COULD BE EFFECTIVE.

-- RELEASE OF THE REPORT WILL ALLOW THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DETERMINE IF DEPLOYMENT OF A BORDER FORCE COULD BE FEASIBLE AND EFFECTIVE.

OAU FORCE

-- THERE IS URGENCY ALSO TO DEPLOY AN ENLARGED OAU NMOG TO THE 3000 SQUARE MILE BUFFER ZONE. THERE IS NO SECURITY OR ADMINISTRATION IN THE ZONE, AND THE ONE MILLION RWANDANS DISPLACED REFUSE TO RETURN OUT OF FEAR OF THE RPF AND FAR TROOPS WHO REGULARLY VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT TO REMAIN OUT OF THE ZONE.

-- THE HUMAN AND FINANCIAL COSTS OF NON-DEPLOYMENT OF THE NMOG ARE ENORMOUS. ESTIMATES INDICATE DOLLARS 137 MILLION WILL BE REQUIRED IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED THIS YEAR ALONE. WE WILL FACE SIMILAR COSTS NEXT YEAR IF THE DISPLACED DO NOT FEEL SECURE ENOUGH TO RETURN HOME IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

-- DIVERTING DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO HUMANITARIAN
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PURPOSES DELAYS INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT IN RWANDA'S
FUTURE.

-- AS YOU ADVISED IN OUR MEETING OF APRIL 30, WE PLAN TO
PROVIDE BILATERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE OAU, AS WE HAVE DONE
IN THE PAST, IF THE OAU CAN DEPLOY A CREDIBLE AND
EFFECTIVE FORCE TO THE BUFFER ZONE.

-- WE WERE PLEASED TO NOTE YOUR DECISION TO DETAIL TWO UN
PEACEKEEPING EXPERTS TO ADDIS ABABA TO HELP THE OAU
PREPARE ITS OPERATIONAL PLAN FOR AN EXPANDED NMOG. WE
BELIEVE THE OAU IS MAKING A CONCERTED EFFORT TO CORRECT
PAST DEFICIENCIES IN THE NMOG OPERATION, AND THAT UN
ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE WILL BE CRITICAL TO AN EFFECTIVE
DEPLOYMENT OF NMOG II.

-- THE OAU IS LEARNING, PERHAPS SOMEWHAT PAINFULLY, FROM
THE NMOG'S EXPERIENCE IN RWANDA. ALTHOUGH THE LEADERSHIP
ROLE OF THE NMOG MAY END ONCE AN INTERNATIONAL
PEACEKEEPING FORCE (WHETHER UNDER OAU, UN OR OTHER
AUSPICES) IS DEPLOYED FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE
AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE THE TROOPS IN PLACE COULD SERVE A
CRITICAL BRIDGING FUNCTION.

-- WE URGE THE UN TO CONTINUE PROVIDING ADVICE AND
TRAINING TO THE OAU TO HELP BUILD ITS CAPACITIES FOR
FUTURE INTERVENTIONS IN RESOLUTION OF OTHER AFRICAN
CONFLICTS. SECONDING OAU PERSONNEL TO A UN PEACEKEEPING
OPERATION AS "TRAINEES" WOULD BE A VALUABLE LONG-TERM
INVESTMENT IN THE OAU'S FUTURE PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES.

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PLANNING FOR THE POST-PEACE AGREEMENT PERIOD

-- THERE IS ALSO URGENCY FOR UN PLANNING FOR A POSSIBLE
POST SETTLEMENT PRESENCE IN RWANDA RATHER THAN WAITING FOR
A PEACE SETTLEMENT. MINIMIZING THE ANTICIPATED GAP
BETWEEN THE SIGNING OF A PEACE ACCORD AND THE ARRIVAL OF
AN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO REPLACE THE OAU
NMOG IS CRITICAL TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD.

-- SECURITY IS CRITICAL TO RPF RETURN TO KIGALI AND

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PARTICIPATION IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. AS A RESULT, THE TWO SIDES ARE DISCUSSING A SEQUENCING THAT BEGINS, NOT ENDS, WITH ARRIVAL OF AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE. ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT HIGH COMMAND OF THE INTEGRATED NATIONAL ARMY, MOVEMENT OF RPF AND FAR FORCES TO ASSEMBLY POINTS, AND FORMATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD FOLLOW.

-- TO AVOID MANY MONTHS OF POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS DELAY, PLANNING FOR A POTENTIAL UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE MUST BE CONSIDERED BEFORE, NOT AFTER, SIGNING OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT.

-- SUCH PLANNING SHOULD BE ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS, WITHOUT NECESSARILY COMMITTING THE UN IN ADVANCE. AN EXAMINATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS WOULD ALLOW THE UN TO DETERMINE IF IT IS IN A POSITION TO UNDERTAKE THIS OPERATION AND, IF SO, TO HELP AVOID THE DELAYS WHICH PLAGUED THE CAMBODIA OPERATION. IF THE UN DECIDES NOT TO UNDERTAKE THIS MISSION, THE PLANNING COULD BE SHARED WITH
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THE OAU IN SUPPORT OF ITS MISSION.

-- THE UN REPRESENTATIVE IN ARUSHA IS FULLY INFORMED ON THESE DEVELOPMENTS. WE URGE YOU TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO SUBMIT AN INTERIM REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SC.
CHRISTOPHER

NOTE BY DO/CC: REFERENCE AS RECEIVED FROM DRAFTER.

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